

# The Roman Accord

By BENIAMINO DE RITIS

THE FASCISTI LEAGUE OF NORTH AMERICA

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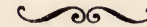
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# THE ROMAN ACCORD

By BENIAMINO DE RITIS



## I

### How Negotiations Began

THE Consistorial Attorney of the Holy See, Francesco Pacelli, having returned to Rome from the Eucharistic Congress in Chicago, August 6, 1926, accidentally met Domenico Barone, Italian State Counselor. The latter expressed a desire to learn upon what basis the so-called Roman Question could be settled. Pacelli answered that two fundamental issues constituted the irreducible minimum of a pact, according to the Papacy.

First, a Papal State with an absolute sovereignty; second, the recognition of the religious wedding ceremony on a parity with the civil ceremony.

(RECAP)

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The discussions began the same day, although at first they were merely of an informal nature with these two as the principal negotiators. They continued up to October of that year, and through them were established the various points of views upon which Italy and the Holy See could agree.

Immediately Premier Mussolini foresaw the possible results of these conferences, and he authorized Comm. Barone to continue, advising him, however, to conduct them with strict secrecy. The Papacy authorized Attorney Pacelli to continue along the same lines. One hundred and ten meetings followed, during which the Papacy received Pacelli one hundred and twenty-nine times. These conferences lasted three and four hours, and the various questions that the negotiators were called upon to face were discussed in minute details.

The first tentative treaty was read on November 24, 1926. There were only two copies, both prepared by Attorney Pacelli. One was given to Cardinal Gasparri, the Vatican Secretary of State, and the other to Premier Mussolini, that they might examine them and submit them for the approval of the Papacy and the Sovereign respectively. Eventually the copies were returned to the negotiators with suggestions for modifications. The conferences were then resumed in the Villa of the Cardinal Granito of Belmonte at Monte Mario. Those in attendance included Mons. Borgongini-Duca, Secretary of Extraordinary Affairs of the Holy See. The meetings were held almost every day and sometimes lasted for nine and ten hours.

By April, 1927, a temporary concordat had been compiled, and it remained but to perfect the articles—20 or more—which made up the sum and substance of the pact. The conferences continued until August 20, 1928, on which day it was definitely verified. "On September 5," states Attorney Pacelli, "I went to Ussita, native town of Cardinal Gasparri, near Rome. On that occasion I had a long conference with the Secretary of State of the Holy

See, during which I submitted for approval definite details of the pact, at the same time asking for official authorization to close the matter. Cardinal Gasparri was very enthusiastic about the work done so far, praising the work of the negotiators and instructing me to express his appreciation to them. He authorized me officially to continue so that a definite conclusion might be reached, and at the same time Comm. Barone obtained similar authority from Mussolini.

"On November 9 we met once again in the Villa of Cardinal Granito and we exchanged official messages and credentials. On November 22 the King of Italy delegated Mussolini to open official negotiations for the conclusion of an accord with the Holy Church. The President of the Council vested authority upon Comm. Barone for Mussolini. On November 25 the Papacy likewise delegated the Cardinal of State, Pietro Gasparri. It remained only to decide the day of the signing ceremonies, but Comm. Barone died unexpectedly on January 4, causing a temporary postponement. On January 7 I was in Bologna on personal business when I received a telephone call from Mussolini informing me that it was his intention to continue the negotiations directly.

"The next day I was received in Mussolini's home and the first of a series of nightly conferences started which lasted often until 1 A.M. The Premier demonstrated a remarkable lucidity, discussing with me the entire pact point for point. On the day after each meeting I referred what happened the night before to the Papacy."

Among those present at the last eight conferences, during which the definite details of the agreement were set forth, were the Minister of Justice, the Hon. Alfredo Rocco, Comm. Nicola Consiglio, a Functionary in the Department of Cults, and Count Luigi Cozza, President of the Superior Council of Public Works, who was entrusted with the duty of getting together the plans of the territory included in the accord. The conferences, semi-official and official, lasted approximately two years.

On the morning of February 11, 1929, in the historical Palazzo Laterano, His Excellency, Benito Mussolini, Plenipotentiary of Victor Emmanuel III, and His Eminence, Pietro Gasparri, Plenipotentiary of Pius XI, signed the political treaty that solves the Roman Question. The concordat regulates the religious conditions of the Church in Italy, and a covenant definitely systematizes the financial matters of the Holy See with Italy.

Thus was ended the strange domestic exile of the Pope, and a rupture of more than half a century standing was healed.



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## II

### What is the Roman Question?

In order to understand the Roman Question we must go back into history and study the events leading up to this pact that the Pope attributes to Divine Providence, which sent the man of destiny: Mussolini. The sovereignty of the Pope goes back a thousand years, dating from the grants of the Longobards in 726, up to the Constitution of the States of the Church, which came about after the fall of Napoleon in the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and finally to 1870, when the soldiers of Victor Emmanuel II occupied Rome to make it the new capital of the Kingdom of Italy. In reality the actual temporal power of the Popes existed from 1815 to 1870, a period equal to that during which they were since deprived of it.

Prior to 1815 the States of the Church were a collective Protectorate upon the free communities that ruled with their own statutes. It was in 1815 that there came into being the idea of a constitution for each state, an absolute régime calculated to

keep Italy divided. The consequences of this absolute temporal power were bad for the Church. The experience of 55 years of Pontifical Government showed that this form was not good, and there were many repercussions of conflict. The Risorgimento, that is, the Italian movement for political and economic unity, from 1815 to 1870, found in Papal Rome one of its biggest obstacles, making it necessary to launch itself against the Papacy, but not against Catholicism.

Before the occupation of Rome, Victor Emmanuel II, grandfather of the present King of Italy, declared that he was earnestly in favor of the independence of the Papacy. He wrote to Pius IX from Florence, September 8, 1870, twelve days before the city was seized by the "Bersaglieri" of General Cadorna, declaring his earnest aim "that the Head of the Catholic Church surrounded by the devotion of the Italian peoples, should maintain upon the banks of the Tiber a glorious See, independent of every human sovereignty."

An act of the Italian Parliament, the so-called Law of Guarantees, gave the matter a new status. In this new law, 1871, Italy unequivocally recognized the need of a settlement but proceeded to lay down the terms without consultation with the Pope. The Law of Guarantees abolished by the present treaty, contained the following provision:

The person of the Pope is "sacred and inviolable." All attempts on his person are to be punished in the same way as attempts against the King. The Italian Government will render him in its territory the honors of a Sovereign. An annual income of 3,250,000 lire is set aside for him and for the administration of the Papal congregations and other general organizers of the Church. The Pope is to use the Vatican and Lateran Palaces, with their attached buildings and grounds, and the Villa of Castel Gandolfo.

While the Papacy is vacant no political or judicial power shall limit the personal freedom of the Cardinals.

The Italian Government pledges itself to make provisions that the conclaves for the election of Popes and the ecumenical councils "shall not be disturbed by any external force."

Full postal and telegraph facilities, insuring privacy of the Papal mail, are accorded, and diplomatic representatives from other countries accredited to the Holy See shall have the full prerogatives of those accredited to civil powers.

Two days after the law was promulgated Pius IX repudiated it and called for the restoration of what the Papacy had lost. The Vatican's viewpoint was based upon these main objections:

The law is not a free contract, as it was passed without the Pope's assent, after the illegal and forcible seizure of his territory. It attempts to place him in the status of a subject and dependent of the Italian King and Government. The law is unstable, made by an Italian Parliament and capable of being repealed by another Parliament.

This is how the Roman Question was born. That is, the problem of conflict between the Head of the Catholic Church and the King of Italy. The State and the Church were in grave disagreement. Italy was the only nation which had the misfortune of not having on its side the Church, or at least, the local hierarchy during the time of its formation. The Papacy would not recognize the King of new Italy. He proclaimed a sort of political obstructionism, Catholicism against the State. He hoped for assistance from outside powers in order to regain domination in Rome. The Pope confined himself in the precincts of the Vatican and declared himself to be a prisoner of the Italian government. The policy of the Italian government pursued the method of maintaining the rights of the State and of *laissez faire* for the Church, and of establishing a régime of tolerable cohabitation.

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### III

#### Various Points of Conflict

"A free Church in a free State," said Cavour. "Free Churches is a sovereign State," corrected Luzzatti. A policy of "parallel lines" between Church and State, added Giolitti. But the Church, after Pius IX, continued to hope that with Leo XIII it would at least get Rome back through some form of conciliation. With Pius X the policy of political obstructionism ceased and the Catholics were permitted to vote. With Benedict XV the possibilities of a pact under which the Papacy could consider itself free in Rome, capital of Italy, became apparent. It was no longer a question of trying to obtain the return of absolute temporal power at any cost. The Law of Guarantees were referred to in further discussions, but Italy could no longer follow the Papacy even in that, and at the beginning of the World War the Holy See eagerly hoped that the conflict would offer some possibility of solving the Roman Question.

When Italy entered the World War Benedict XV deplored the abnormal situation of the Holy See, and the departure of the representatives of Austria and Germany, but recognized the good intentions of the Italian Government in observing the Pontifical guarantee.

After the victory, which greatly enhanced Italy's prestige among the Powers and made her a factor in the Peace, the Holy See realized the wisdom of a definitely conciliatory attitude with a final agreement in view. This attitude was made very clear by the gradual defeat of the irreconcilables in the Vatican who never favored anything short of a virtual surrender on the part of the Italian Government. That Pope Benedict XV himself was friendly to Italy was clearly demonstrated by the fact that, while the extraterritoriality privileges enjoyed by the Holy See might have been used in the interest of Austria, the most Catholic of the great Powers, the Vatican did maintain a perfect neutrality.

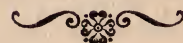
The Holy See tacitly admitted the realities which came to pass since 1870, and it was constrained to solve its problem with due respect to the governmental solution.

Then began talk of changing not the substance but the form of things. Came Pius XI who from the very first clearly indicated his intention of effecting an accord with Italy. Came Mussolini, and Fascism entered Rome in October, 1922, not only to counteract the subversive mob, but also to repair the economic structure of the nation, and also to serve the ideal of order, of morality, and of religion. Mussolini was the superman sprung from the people to re-make Italy. No sooner did he enter Rome when he faced squarely the religious problem. Perhaps he went over retrospectively the negotiations of a thousand years which were inspired generally either by personal ambition or a lust for power, and, finding in them much that was morally destructive and politically perilous, decided that only the solution suggested by Dante and

proclaimed by the most illustrious Catholics, including the Popes Gregory X and Leo XIII, was just.

This ideal demanded a cordial and sincere collaboration of the two entities, each remaining in the confines of its special mission. The Church morally more important, and the State materialistically stronger, but also rich with civil morality and with an indigenous culture, must sustain the human trust confided in them, so that they may go sure and tranquil to the fulfillment of their destiny.

With this conviction, upon this very solid ground, a real statesman can sincerely extend his hand to the theologian and to the mystic. With this predisposition, men of good-will could put into effect that peace which mankind fervently hoped for.



#### IV

### Sum and Substance of the Accord

What did Mussolini do? Above all Mussolini re-instated Article I of the Italian Statutes which proclaims the Catholic Apostolical Roman Church as the only religion of State, thus inspiring a new respect in the exercise of religion which radical propaganda had discredited. It re-established in solemn form religious instruction in the primary schools. In this way the state cancelled the humanistic tradition of recent centuries, such as Atheism, and it returned into the regular religious channels of the Italian people. The Papacy could no longer ignore the Italian State.

It is impossible to go to Rome without feeling this new idealism, Fascism, which gains also the glory of having solved the Roman Question. How was it solved? The Church could not accept a solution which emanated merely from the Law of the Italian State, like that of the Guarantees. Napoleon had taken

care to give to the negotiations dictated to Pius VII, during his imprisonment at Fontainebleau, the semblance of a concordat, and the question was not such that it could be settled by a Congress of Powers. This idea was put forth by France in 1882 but it found no favor—not even in the Vatican. The Papacy as an entity, not only international, but supernational, cannot bow to the tutelage of anybody, much less to the uncertainty of ever-changing combinations and negotiations of international politics, which are among other things, dominated by schismatic powers.

In this, the interest of the Church is in perfect harmony with that of Italy, which demands that in a question in which its dignity and national independence are involved, no stranger may intervene. There was nothing left then but to return to the practice of concordats, more in keeping with public rights and also to the rights of the Church, beginning with the concordat of Worms in 1122 up to our time, which has always characterized the civilized world in its relations with the Catholic Church.

These are the principles which underlined the negotiations of the pact between Italy and the Vatican. Thus the question was resolved into one of principle, not of territory. From this point of departure, it was not hard to find the line of demarcation between the two entities; the spiritual frontier, so to speak, and in consequence the political and territorial difficulties between the Italian State and the Church in Rome, became easier to define.

The Roman public in 1870 asserting prerogatives of political and civil liberties, to which it had full right, caused the Pontifical State as a thing in itself to cease, but it could not minimize the entity of the Supreme Pontiff as the head of the Universal Church. In consequence it could not deprive him of any of his attributes powers, rights, not only historical and honorary, but also patrimonial, that is, of that temporality which was due him in consideration of the constitution of the Apostolic Holy See, represent-

ing the Catholic world; the base and the means of a proper and definitive evolution towards its universal spiritual sovereignty. Upon this basis was settled the question of territory involving the Sacred Palaces and the Vatican gardens, as absolute and perpetual property of the Pontiff, over which he is Sovereign. The Treaty signed by Premier Mussolini and Cardinal Gasparri recognizes the full property and exclusive dominion and sovereign jurisdiction of the Holy See and the Vatican as at present constituted.

For this purpose the "City of the Vatican" is created, declaring that in its territory no interference by the Italian Government will be possible, and that there will be no authority but the authority of the Holy See.

It also specifies persons subject to the sovereignty of the Holy See—namely, those having stable residence in the Vatican City. The treaty also lays down the immunity which shall be enjoyed even by those who do not reside in the above mentioned city—namely, all dignitaries of the Church, persons belonging to the pontifical court, and the Vatican officials declared indispensable by the Holy See.

Territorial immunities also are provided for the patriarchal basilicas and certain edifices situated outside of the Vatican City in which the Holy See has housed or will house its congregations or offices and services necessary for its administration.

Italy recognized the Holy See's right to send its own diplomats to foreign countries and to receive foreign diplomats according to the general rules of international law. The two high contracting parties bind themselves to establish normal diplomatic relations by accrediting an Italian Ambassador to the Holy See and an apostolic nuncio to Italy who will be the dean of the diplomatic body, according to customary procedure as recognized in the Congress of Vienna.

Another clause states that if the Holy See requests it, either in any single case or as a general rule, the Italian Government will see to punishment in its own territory of crimes committed in the Vatican City. Similarly the Holy See will deliver to Italy persons who have taken refuge on Vatican territory accused of acts which are considered criminal by the laws of both States.

Yet another clause states that the Vatican wishes to remain and will remain extraneous to temporal competitions between other States and from international Congresses convened for this purpose unless the parties in conflict appeal unanimously to its mission of peace and reserving the right, in any case, to exercise its moral and spiritual power. As a consequence of the above, the Vatican territory will always be considered neutral and inviolable.

These clauses are the most important and characterize a new Papal State which operates not only for the protection of the Pope's person, but also of his sovereignty. It is a mistake to speak of the Pontifical Sovereignty bearing in mind the ancient temporal power. The Church has undergone a profound evolution. The new *Codex Juris Canonici* which were compiled by Cardinal Gasparri, distinguishes between *delicta mere ecclesiastica*, which provides only for spiritual penalties, and *delicta civilia*, which have to do expressly with civil power (Can. 2198). This reference tallies with that part of the Italian penal code which provides that an Italian citizen, and even a stranger, may be prosecuted judicially in Italy and according to Italian law "upon the application of a foreign government" for acts committed outside of the national territory.

In connection with other public duties, it is provided that the Italian citizen living for official reasons or permanently attached to service in Pontifical territory, owes a dual allegiance; to the Supreme Pontiff, as soon as he expressly declares an acceptance of

that Sovereignty, and to the Italian Government toward which he owes a political duty. The conventions in civil and commercial matters, in matters of executive procedure by one or the other authority, in postal and financial relations, in diplomatic representations to the Pontifical Throne, in time of peace and of war, are characterized by the geographical liberty of the Apostolical Holy See. But the geographical liberty established the absolute neutrality of the Holy See in case of conflict between Italy and other countries.



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## V

### The Financial Aspect of the Pact

The financial convention establishes that the Holy See, as definite settlement of all its financial relations with Italy in consequence of the fall of temporal power, accepts 750,000,000 lire cash and 1,000,000,000 lire in Italian State consols at 5 per cent. This sum is inferior to what Italy would have paid if the Holy See had accepted the allowances granted by the Law of Guarantees of May 13, 1871.

In this connection it is well to consider the financial background of the Holy See. It is a question ignored by almost everybody, not only by a great part of the public, but also by specialists who deal directly with the Vatican. The highly specialized nature of the institution is based essentially on an absolute faith which does not tolerate control or questioning.

Before 1870 the Vatican administration functioned like that of other states, and its cash balance was similar to that of other

governments of the time, although the expenses relating to culture and charity took precedence over all others. Especially in the last years of the temporal power of the Popes. These reduced to the minimum personal expenses which at one time were exorbitant, and converted very large sums to such religious use as the building of monasteries, orphanages, etc. Everything concerning the direct administration of the Holy Apostolical Palaces was left to the "Reverenda Camera Apostolica," which included among its members the General Treasurer of the Holy See. When the temporal power ceased, the functions of the Apostolic Chamber and the administration were reduced to the prefecture of the Apostolic Palaces, galleries, museums, gardens, San Giovanni in Laterano, Palazzo di Castel Gandolfo, and expenses involving the members of the Sacred College.

Now the Apostolic Chamber does not function except when the Holy Chair is vacant, a period during which it assumes all the administrative and financial powers of the Pope, under the direction of the Chamberlain of the Holy Roman Church. Naturally, when after 1870 the incomes of the political state were cut off, the Holy See felt the effects of the profound change which, especially during the last years of Pius IX, made the administration rather unstable. It was necessary to study conditions in order to effect a balance based upon the new circumstances. Leo XIII entrusted the task to a commission of cardinals who were designated as the "Obolo," the personnel of which was known only to the Pope. Mons. Folchi had invested a great part of the Holy See capital in construction work, which, although they improved Rome physically, were too costly, financially. He thought in this way to assure for the Holy See a patrimony which would enable it to meet the first uncertain years of the new administration. Catastrophe overtook the ambitious plans and he was forced to resign his post. The Pope, anxious to avoid such things in the future, gave the Commission of Cardinals a constitution which was more

complete and more rigid, and named his Secretary of State, Rampolla del Tindaro, as presiding officer. As Secretary was named Mons. Mocenni, one known for his business acumen and sagacity.

Pius X in his constitution "Sapienti Consilio" proceeding to a complete reform of the Roman Curia, centralized in the administration the sacred congregations, the tribunals, leaving autonomous only certain functions which, owing to the nature of their office, derived their own income, such as the Holy Office, Propaganda and the Vicarite of Rome.

Pius X wanted in this way to obviate numerous inconveniences, manifested in connection with certain incomes, especially those that referred to "brevi apostolici" and which are not easily controlled, so much so that even in those days the personnel of the Vatican were entitled to commissions on certain affairs, and the Vatican administration had no way of ascertaining what the amounts involved were.

Regarding the administration of the palace, the treasuries of the various departments were, up to a very short time ago, separate, that is, such departments as the major domo, the major groom, the museum, the galleries, the head servant of the Papal household. Recently the administrative commission of the Holy See decided to unite them all into a central treasury. In this way not even the smallest expenditure can be made without the approval of the Commission of Cardinals, of which Cardinal Secretary of State is President. Samples for all things to be purchased must be furnished by at least three competitors.

With respect to the "Obolo" of St. Peter, the offers are brought directly to the Pope who administers them personally, keeping a register of debit and credit, helped by one person of absolute confidence, who takes a monthly balance of this special treasury.

It is impossible to state with precision just what is the patrimony of the Holy See, that is, the fixed income, because of the

involved procedure, but nearest calculations put the annual expenditure at twenty to twenty-two million lire. This sum approximates the annual interest on the amount to be paid to the Vatican by the Italian Government as indemnity.



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## VI

### The Analogy to America

The mutual advantages of the pact are evident for the reasons we have stated. They are even more evident when we consider the concordat regulates ecclesiastical matters in Italy between the Church and the State which are of interest to both concerned. It combines harmoniously the *jus maiestaticum circa sacra*, which is the absolute entity of the State, with the *jus in sacra*, which is the absolute entity of the Church.

The Italian State in 1870 ignored certain prerogatives and sovereign rights (for example, the pledge of allegiance on the part of the Bishops) which had always been respected and which no civil state, Catholic or not, has ever consciously ignored.

The law nullified all the articles that placed the Italian State in communication with that system of vital and sensible ideals which is, really, "the episcopal system." This law demonstrated

an unreasonable indifference toward the religious factors and influence in the national life. In addition, in order to discount the hierarchical power and to depreciate the ecclesiastical institutions, it systematically ignored the canonical law, even when that might have helped it obtain its own ends.

The concordat blends and harmonizes reciprocal and complementary powers as those of the motherland and of religion. Fascism has justly valued that Catholicism, being a universal power with its Supreme Head in Rome, constitutes for Italy something more than an historical and geographic privilege. It is a great spiritual energy, emanating from the doctrine and tradition of the Catholic Church, which the State has utilized to solve the political problem of the co-existence of the two powers.

In addition to this there is the status of the Catholic Church in America which has always been more tolerant with respect to its relation to the State. The provision that Italian legislation shall take into consideration the canonical law in the spiritual field of religious activities, makes the new status closely analogous to that of the United States. This provision means nothing more than the guarantee that the church may function with full liberty in the exercise of its spiritual authority.

As the situation now exists by virtue of the new pact, there is not a great deal of difference between the status of the Catholic Church in Italy and that of the church in the United States from the viewpoint of the official recognition of the Canon Law in its own sphere.

The treaty provides:

1. The free appointment of Bishops without interference by the State, just as in the United States.
2. The recognition of the validity of the religious marriage ceremony, demanding only the certification of such marriages

to the State officials, just as is done in the United States in the case of all marriages performed by any minister of religion. (The overwhelming majority of the Italian population is Catholic and 95% of the marriages are performed by the Roman Church.)

3. The liberty of religious training in the schools. While religious training in the public schools in the United States is out of the question because of the multiplicity of religious bodies, each differing from the other, yet even in America of late years there has been an increasing demand for some sort of religious training based upon the conviction that religion is the fundamental basis of all morality.

4. The right of the Church to own property that is hers but which heretofore had been confiscated by the State, just as the Church in the United States has the right to acquire, to own and to administer her own property with full recognition of her rights by the State.

5. The exemption of the ecclesiastical students and the clergy from military service, just as in the United States.

The accord between the civil authority of Italy and the Canon Law of the Church is simply recognition of the rights of the Church to function as a spiritual society; just as in America where the tradition of a noble civilization has enabled the Church and the State to exist side by side in absolute harmony.

And that is why the concordat has an historical importance which surpasses the very importance of the conciliation.

Now that the pact is signed, Rome expects again to see the Holy Father giving his blessings about the City. He no longer is a "prisoner" in the confines of the Vatican where he seemed so remote as to belong to another world. Since 1870 the Popes have never crossed that frontier on the other side of which all the echoes of mundane agitations die away.

It is said that Pius X was about to break the seclusion which he had imposed upon himself by accepting the apostolic ministry, at the time of the Messina cataclysm. On one of those heavy and dark winter nights while notice after notice of the disaster was received, Pius X was prompted by his ardent and generous nature to go among the stricken.

The Holy Pontiff called the then Secretary of State, Cardinal Merry del Val, to inform him that he had decided to start out. The Cardinal did not oppose the wishes of Pius X but he observed that the Pope could not leave like a country curate with an umbrella and a breviary under his arm, that he required means to spread charity, and that it was necessary to advise the civil authorities of his proposed trip.

He pondered on the matter all night and the next morning Pius X, who had stayed awake praying, rescinded his decision saying: "But if the Pope does not go out now and on this occasion, when might he go out?"

It was left for another Pius to fulfill the wish which had tormented Pius X so much. The Vicar of Christ may now go forth from the Vatican by virtue of an act that he himself ascribes to Divine Interference. There is even a possibility that he may cross the Atlantic and visit America where Catholicism has made millions of new followers.



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## VII

### A Parallel Path to Greatness

There never was in history a problem which could not be solved by might, by faith, or by wisdom. The Roman Question for a long time seemed to be an insoluble problem.

Great statesmen, among whom were Crispi and high personalities of the Catholic Church, vainly sought the means of a conciliation. The creation of a true Pontifical State was impossible, and no Pontiff could aspire to it. And yet, without a state, the independent sovereignty of the Pope could not assert itself. There was needed the will power, the spirit of conciliation and the genius of two great minds—that of Pope Pius XI and that of Mussolini—to reduce the problem to its most simple terms, and reach an agreement.

The Pontifical State rises but it is still the Vatican. Materially nothing changes. The Vatican was given as an usufruct. Italy

acknowledges that the Pontiff is an independent sovereign in the Vatican City, that is, within the bounds in which he has lived sovereignly for fifty years with all the rights of extraterritoriality. The Pontiff acknowledges the sovereignty of Italy over the territories which were the Pontifical State. That which changes is a juridical principle, a legal situation. The Pope again becomes a power internationally, even if his State is little more than a palace.

Pius XI restores all the moral splendor of the pontifical sovereignty and his full pacific authority in the world, without the dangers of temporality. And he has asked for no other guarantee than that of Italy. The Papal State is not and never will be a pawn in the political game of foreign nations on the Italian checker-board. It rests under the protection of the honor of Italy. This makes the majestic, historical figure of Pius XI still greater in Italian hearts. He has had faith and love for the country of which he is a son. And he has had faith and love for the Italian rebirth, and for the "Man of Providence" who willed it and guided it. He recognized that Roman Fascist solidity made possible the Roman perpetuity of the Church in Eternal Rome.

The new pontifical state which rises from the Italo-Vatican treaty is a state *sui generis*, giving to the Vatican extraterritorial rights. The New State rises from the adoption of the idea of an absolute sovereignty founded on property which may be used as an apostolic palace by the Pope. With this conception of "absolute" Italy does not create a political state but retires from the confines of the Vatican in homage to the spiritual grandeur of the Pontificate, reflected in its congregations and in that little world which represents the central organization and administration of the Holy See, and in which it may exercise its sovereignty freely and independently. That sovereignty, when it has been officially recognized by all the powers, will be of such a character as to merit the admiration of the entire world.

In this combination the sovereignty of Italy is safely cared for, the other states intervene only after Italy has regulated its affairs with the Holy See, and after having directly treated with the Vatican, as constituted in a new juridical personality. And the Vatican juridically separated from Italy will internationalize itself.

The moral and scientific worth of the Roman Accord is a tribute to certain characteristics of Pope Pius XI who is scrupulously prudent in the examination and consideration of questions. He avoids quick decisions and takes his time to reflect. Before making a decision he likes to ponder minutely every detail with a diligence characteristic of students and scientists, and once he makes a decision it is final and absolute.

The agreement will constitute one of the most glorious pages of history, both for Italy and the Catholic Church. The conferences of the Italo-Vatican conciliation, acclaimed with joy all over the world, will brighten the future of both. It is in keeping with the prophetic words uttered by Mussolini when he was merely a deputy and the organizer of the Black Shirts, on the 5th day of February, 1922, just before the close of the Conclave which elected to the Pontificate, Cardinal Ratti. Mussolini, together with the Hon. Constanzo Ciano, Minister of Communications, went to the Piazza San Pietro which was crowded with enthusiasts, in anticipation of the Papal election. The Duce, impressed by the superb spectacle, exclaimed: "It seems incredible that the liberal governments have not understood that the universality of the Papacy, heir of the universality of the Roman Empire, represents the greatest glory of Italian history and tradition."

The settlement assures for Mussolini a place in the vanguard among the great peace-makers of world history; it is his masterpiece of statecraft. Together with the educational reforms, the economic reconstruction, the Corporative State, an original contribution to the modern technique of government, the "Carta del Lavoro,"

which harnessed capital and labor in a constructive partnership, it will make possible the realization of Mussolini's dream of another political and spiritual rebirth. It will restore Italy to its place of leadership among the civilized nations.



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